515 may last 9 months, there is very little bathing, and only hands are washed, in muddy water brought from the river or brook, before and after meals. There are no latrine ditches. 514 Feces are deposited behind thorny bushes 1/4 mile from the hamlet at most, while urination at night proceeds within the hamlet. This practice is followed even in towns and in Addis Ababa. Fortunately the strong sun carbonizes the feces in the dry season, and the strong rain in that season sweeps it away. There is no caste of sweepers, and no attention is paid to human or animal feces, except for the manure of oxen and cows. The latter is hand-pressed into cakes and used as fuel.

364 825 Hyenas, jackals and vultures are not interfered with, as their services in removing carcasses of animal origin are well appreciated.

165 Abundant sunlight during 9 months of the year, coupled with the scanty clothing of small children, probably gives them their best chance of survival in addition to the long breast-feeding. Nevertheless infant mortality is very high, and in an average family half the babies born die before reaching the age of 5.

164 136 Flea infestation of humans can be described as complete. This opens the way to flea-born typhus, especially on the highland plateau. Lice are somewhat less general, since they are not regarded by the Amhara as inevitable as fleas. Thus, an Amhara whose hair is infected with lice (e.g. during a stay in prisons which are always lice-infected), he may shave his hair. 136 164 744 But louse-born relapsing fever epidemics recur from time to time, and the

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5



867
[539] "He, before becoming old,
wants to be serious".

(This is also said of a young man who saves gifts for a bride before he has chosen a girl).

When the adolescent boys take part in the aforementioned ritual mock-battles, younger boys imitate them by staging similar hazing-battles among their age peers.

Little girls are enculturated in somewhat similar fashion by peers of their own sex, but more often including some older girls who patronize the younger. Girls are not taught any social graces among commoner Amharas, so that they sit shyly and wordless when in the company of men. Any girl who shows signs of daring is mocked and hazed as "gobba" (daring, enterprising female). Generally the activities of girls are less violent,. At times when boys fight their ritual mock-battles, girls dance rounds and sing in unison.

Both boys and girls are taught to be right-handed, and a "lefty" is extremely rare. They are taught to eat with the right
[264 hand, shake hands with the right, and use the left for wiping
576 themselves with leaves after defecating. But the prohibition
● 514 against use of the left hand on other occasions is not as severe as among Arabs.

[754] Both sexes fear the supernatural "buda" spirit, also in the shape of human sorcerer and magical hyena. Older boys claim they can distinguish the cry of a real hyena from that of a magical one, and sometimes scare younger children by imitating the howl.

867 Sex differentiation among children is expressed in the hair
302 style. Boys wear a single coxcomb hairlock, girls a ring of hair around the shaven skull which sometimes may contain a center hair-

264 procedure, also called "cämmäsä" is in imitation of procedure at the court of nobles, and it is known that kings have always had their special cupbearers ("cämash") who tasted the drink against possible poison, and who also removed any floating debris ("cäffäta") such as beeswax from the drink.

574 The hospitality group on non-kin members which meets most
575 regularly, once a month, is the "mähabbär" association, already described. Based originally on religious private communion, each member plays host once a month to drink from "Mary's cup" ("mäkaryas sewa"), to feast, for chant and dance ("zäfän") and less formal gossipy entertainment and conversation ("tächawwäta").

C. Verbal Expression: Formalities; Wit; Pedagogic Riddles.

192 Emotional exclamations in everyday use are highly formalized:

Pain - "häyy häyy" (also if a painful truth "sinks in"; astonishment).

Fear - "woyy" (especially by women, just before a fearful event happens).

Fearful surprise - "ayyi" (e.g. when someone stumbles, or has an accident).

Alarm - "errii" - (cry of alarm; also of great sorrow as in death of kin).

Skeptical surprise - "errä" ("you don't say?!"); Reply: "mut" (abbreviated from "yemut", lit. "may (the emperor die) if this is not true").

Pleasure - "essäy" (to indicate comfort, e.g. when sitting down after having climbed a long, tiring hill).

576 Formal politeness in etiquette always considers the social status
514 of the person addressed. Thus, there are six ways of informing an
192 inquirer that the person he seeks has gone out to defecate or urinate:

Impolite, though not vulgar: "weha afässäsä" - (lit. he poured water).

Polite: "der wätta" - (lit. he went to the bush).

Polite: "äj wätta" - (lit. he went out the door).

513

576 Very Polite: "shängo wätta" - (lit. he went to a meeting).

514 Extremely Polite: "märo zorä" - (lit. he left home).

192 Extremely Polite: "shershär wätta" - (lit. he went for a walk).

522 Wit, used in court or by homespun philosophers to entertain their friends, compensates for the many formalities in this culture and society. The famous wit, Alänga Gäbre-Hanna has already been cited. 538 Proverbs, "märät" and riddles may be used to make a comment of esoteric meanings, understandable only to one's initiates. Proverbs fulfill a social function, beyond mere entertainment, for even philosophy, being utilized to begin any negotiation, such as for marriage. This is emphasized in proverbs on proverbs:

[539]

"Like Hallelujah before the chanting (in church),
(begin with) a proverb before the discussion".

"(to drink) mead, (first get) a container,
to talk, (begin with) a proverb".

538 Proverbs and riddles used by parents, teachers and leaders of
573 society have a pedagogic function, and can be used to reprimand and
[861] instruct. Conflict between father and son, the complexities involved, and the possibility that contrary to the major cultural assumption of parental superiority, the son may sometimes have logic on his side, is indicated by the following:

[539]

"(Says the father):

"Your Father you cannot accuse (e.g. in court, shaming yourself)
nor plow the sky,
nor roast water".

"(Replies the son):

"The father, by his own shame he will stand accused;
the sky, by lighting it is plowed;
water, in a pot it is steamed".

severe abdominal pain). The wot he eats is invariably the humblest type, aliyca, lacking the cayenne-based ingredient (berberiy) necessary to man and digestive wosfat. His injera is made of pulses instead of proper cereals, and often he has nothing but a handful of parched grain (kolow) with which to satisfy his hunger and truculent wosfat. In addition to persistent abdominal complaints (yihod himem), students are often afflicted with dafint (night-blindness) which is particularly stressful in the context of the student's nocturnal activities.

There is also danger from animals, the vicious and often rabid hamlet dogs, which plague him as he begs; from ganels which gather outside the church yard waiting to suffocate him in his sleep, to tempt him to sacrilege with their calls just as they tempted Saint Basil, to waylay him when he goes beyond the church yard for nocturnal urination.

The Growth of Mercantile Interests. With the exception of those few students who enjoy the kiyne master's patronage, or who receive parental support, the young scholars must periodically interrupt the course of study for excursions into the lowlands in order to meet their subsistence needs. In early September, after the rains have ended and the countryside is covered with verdure, kiyne students journey to the kola lands to gather the wild gramta grass. The gramta must be sun dried for